



Bryant University

HONORS THESIS

Si los muros tuvieran voz; el arte callejero de Valparaíso, Chile

If the Murals had a Voice; the Street Art of Valparaíso, Chile

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**Si los muros tuvieran voz; el arte callejero de
Valparaíso, Chile**

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ABSTRACT

Street art is a way for people to express their emotions for the public to see. Sometimes it is used as a form of protest that gives a voice to the voiceless. The history of street art in Chile begins in the 1940s when it first appeared in the region. Since then, popularity of street art has grown particularly after the reestablishment of democracy in Chile during the 1990s. The city of Valparaíso, Chile is an international hub for street art. Many murals relate to the political, social, or economic environment in Chile. In this research, I discuss how even though many people view street art as vandalism, a part of urban landscapes, or an aesthetic form, it also exists as a means to communicate social, political, and economic problems, as well as generate emotional responses from the public at large. I do this by focusing on ten murals that appeared around Valparaíso in 2018.

INTRODUCTION

Street art is the use of a city's walls, buildings, and bridges as a canvas to express ideas. Even though many people view street art as vandalism, a part of urban landscapes, or an aesthetic form, it also exists as a means to communicate social, political, and economic problems, as well as generate emotional responses from the public at large. Street art is often seen as vandalism because many people associate it with graffiti. Street art and graffiti are two different art forms. Jill C. Weisberg says "street artists want everyone to view and be engaged by their work. They are trying to make a statement" (Weisberg, 2012, para. 2). In contrast, graffiti is a tag, a labeling or identifying marker. Graffiti artists paint letters and words that are meant to get the attention of other graffiti artists. It is often seen as vandalism and some people believe that street art and graffiti are the same form of art. Weisberg explains that

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“graffiti artists place their work in public, generally speaking they are not interested in the public understanding their work; they want to speak to other graffiti artists” (Weisberg, 2012, para. 2). Another way street art is often viewed is for its aesthetic value. People walk by and see the painting and admire it but then keep on walking. They fail to realize the meaning behind the paintings. A street artist does not just walk up to a wall and start painting, they create a mural that has a meaningful message for all to see (Tran, 2016, para. 6-7).

Latin America is a large geographical region that spans from Central America to the Caribbean and reaches into South America. Most, if not all, of Latin America has been under a military dictatorship at some point in their history. During these regimes, citizens were repressed, so some looked for outlets to manifest their disagreements without being arrested or killed by police. Street art became a tool for artists to express anger and frustration. It then became a form of protest that spread throughout Latin America. Even after the turmoil of dictatorships ended across the region, people continued to use street art to protest political, social, and economic changes in their country.

There are several cities in Latin America that are well-known for their street art murals. Street art is illegal but is rarely enforced. In many Latin American countries there is an approval process that needs to be adhered to (Ruiz, 2011, p. 9). Among these cities are Buenos Aires, Santiago, and Medellín however, the powerhouses of street art in Latin America are Valparaíso, São Paulo, and Bogotá (E. Ramirez, personal communication, September 24, 2019; Appendix 1). Maximiliano Ruiz, in his book, refers to Latin America “as the promised land of Street Art” (Ruiz, 2011, p. 9).

Latin America was introduced to street art when artists migrated to Latin America arriving from Mexico (E. Ramirez, personal communication, September 24, 2019; Appendix 1). One

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of the first street artists to travel to Chile was Mexican muralist David Alfaro Siqueiros in 1940. Siqueiros organized his first collaboration with Mexican artist Xavier Guerrero and Chilean artists Camilo Mori, Gregorio de la Fuente, and Fernando Marcos in Chillán at the *Escuela México* (Mexico School). From there, street art grew exponentially in Chile with Mori and de la Fuente going on to teach mural painting at the University of Chile's School of Fine Arts.

The first Chilean government sponsored mural was painted in 1943 by de la Fuente. This visual expression was painted at the Concepción Train Station. Its message represented the "Mapuche people and their suffering at the hands of the Spanish" (Palmer, 2008, p. 8). In 1945, mural artists at the School of Fine Arts created the Group of Mural Painters of the Ministry of Education. Their objective was to paint murals in all the schools in Chile however, they only managed to paint three (Palmer, 2008, p. 8).

Murals have not only been used to cover empty walls but also as a way to promote ideas of propaganda. Since 1963, one can see political propaganda murals all over Chile. The origin of political propaganda murals began with the election in 1964 between Salvador Allende and Eduardo Frei. One of the first propaganda pieces was painted in Avenida España (Spain Avenue), the main road between Viña del Mar and Valparaíso. This mural was pro-Allende and was painted by a team led by Jorge Osorio in July 1963. Another pro-Allende mural was painted on Avenida España by a team led by the same artist. This mural represented the "struggles and hopes of the Chilean people" (Palmer, 2008, p. 8). Avenida España became a popular place to paint murals and during this election was coined as "the propaganda Battle of Avenida España" (Palmer, 2008, p. 8). Another example of that battle is artists loyal to Frei painted a star and a phrase "50,000 grants for poor children" (Palmer, 2008, p. 8). Soon after,

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painters loyal to Allende painted an “X” with the phrase “In the popular government there will be no poor children” (Palmer, 2008, p. 8).

In early 1964, the first political murals also started showing up in the capital, Santiago. The best and biggest propaganda murals during this time were found along the banks of the Mapocho River. One famous mural lies between the bridges of Independencia and Recoleta stretching across 200 meters (about 656 feet). It borders the river with “combined portraits of progressive Chilean leaders with popular imagery; women featured prominently in a conscious effort to offset predominantly masculine leftist iconography” (Palmer, 2008, p. 9). The first to use street art as political propaganda occurred in this election, which was won by Frei (Palmer, 2008, p. 8-9).

Soon after this election, more artists from Latin America came to Chile including Mexican painter Jorge González Camarena. He painted a mural called “Latin America” at Concepción University (Appendix 2). This artwork represents all of the countries and cultures in Latin America. This mural showcases large faces of Latin American women, an Aztec eagle, and a naked indigenous person next to an armed conquistador. In the center is pictured the underground resources of Latin America “built up into the tools of industry and war” (Palmer, 2008, p. 9). At the top, there are interconnected flags of all the countries of Latin America with a verse from world-famous Chilean poet Pablo Neruda’s “América.” This mural and many others can be found that are not political from the 1960s. In 1969, the founder of the School of Architecture and Institute of Art at the Catholic University in Valparaíso, Francisco Méndez Labbé took to the streets with many students to paint about 60 murals in Valparaíso. During Pinochet’s dictatorship, the murals were erased but were later restored to create the *Museo a cielo abierto* (Open Sky Museum) (Palmer, 2008, p. 9).

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The end of the 1960s saw *brigadas* being formed. *Brigadas* were groups of street artists who were connected to a political party and would paint propaganda for that party. The most famous in Chile is the *Brigada Ramona Parra* (BRP). They were associated with the Communist Party (which later became the Socialist Party). At the time, the Socialist Party also had a *brigada* called *Venceremos* (We will win). They later renamed their group *Brigada Lenin Venezuela* after a terrorist who attempted to hijack a plane at the Santiago Airport. Not wanting to be named after a terrorist, they changed their name again to the *Brigada Elmo Catalán* (BEC). Elmo was a Chilean journalist who died in Bolivia fighting with a guerrilla army. In the lead up to the 1970 Chilean election, the BRP and BEC joined together to support Allende's campaign for president. In one night, the *brigadas* painted the slogan "With Allende we will win ¡Popular Unity!" 15,000 times all over Santiago (Palmer, 2008, p. 10). When Allende was elected as president, the BRP and BEC continued painting political propaganda around Chile. They used pop culture references in some of their murals. For example, the graphics from the Beatles' song Yellow Submarine influenced some of the BRP's designs (Palmer, 2008, p. 9-11).

On September 11, 1973, there was a military coup in Chile. The military, under the command of Augusto Pinochet, stormed the presidential palace and took control of the government. Allende, the president at the time, killed himself to avoid capture. When Pinochet became dictator of Chile, he was quick to silence anyone who spoke out against him or his government. He captured, imprisoned, or killed any critics, including street artists. As a result, the artists, including the BRP and BEC, went underground or into exile. Pinochet erased many murals all over Chile. The Open Sky Museum in Valparaíso was targeted as well. In 1979, a group called *Colectivo Acciones de Arte* (CADA) (Collective Art Actions) emerged. They

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were the first to organize artistic resistance against Pinochet. The BRP and BEC were also still painting murals but stayed underground until the mid-1980s. In the late 1980s, these groups began painting anti-Pinochet murals across Chile but mostly in Santiago and Valparaíso. They supported the “No” campaign and would paint this along with a rainbow that represented this movement (Palmer, 2008, p. 11).

The dictatorship ended in 1990 and Pinochet was removed from power. Many exiled artists returned to Chile. They came back from all corners of the global and brought back different street art techniques (E. Ramirez, personal communication, September 24, 2019; Appendix 1). One of the main goals of Chilean street artists was to recreate the Open Air Museum in Valparaíso. Artists from all over Chile came together and worked from 1991-1994 to bring back the museum. During the years after the dictatorship, some street artists had moved away from painting about politics and transitioned to the culture or history of Chile. Some had transformed towards pop culture, painting murals using popular cartoons. “Chile has embraced an era of new freedoms,” including the freedom to paint without being arrested (Palmer, 2008, p. 7). Street art groups were transformed after the dictatorship. Painting became more of a social event and with permission, they would make a day of it (E. Ramirez, personal communication, September 24, 2019; Appendix 1). Simultaneously, street art in Latin America was being revered around the world. Today, Chile has become one of the leaders of street art in Latin America and attracts many aspiring artists from all over the world (Palmer, 2008, p. 7-18).

Valparaíso has been a popular hub for street artists since the 1940s, attracting people from all over the globe including the English, Germans, and Croatians. In addition, many Europeans call Valparaíso home. The city is brought to life not only by the brightly painted houses but

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by the remarkable amount of street art found from one end to the other. In Chile, including Valparaíso, there are a few different ways to paint murals in the city. You can be granted permission and funding by the government, but this is rare because the government likes to focus more on heritage. The second option is asking permission from the owner of the wall you would like to paint. Some artists are commissioned to paint a mural which includes payment and sometimes all the supplies. The final way is to paint illegally which is seen less today, but still occurs. Street artists in Chile believe Valparaíso will remain a vibrant city with murals painted everywhere in the years to come (E. Ramirez, personal communication, September 24, 2019; Appendix 1).

I became interested in street art after studying abroad in Chile in the Fall 2018 and learning about the different murals in the city of Valparaíso. A street artist in Valparaíso named Eddie Ramirez helped me understand street art, why it is important, and why people paint murals. He opened up my eyes to a whole new way of viewing these magnificent murals. In the rest of my paper, I will share the information I learned about street art through a literature review and then an analysis of ten specific street art murals from Valparaíso.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research examines street art and the meaning behind the murals. Street art can be found all over the world. You can find articles about murals from cities like London, Auckland, Lisbon, Ho Chi Minh City, and Mexico City. In London, murals can be found all across the city and tours are offered to educate people about the paintings. A world-famous street artist named Banksy started to gain popularity on the streets of London. (Wyld, 2017, para. 3-5). Auckland, New Zealand values its street art and artists. There are art trusts in the city to pay for murals and most of the community support this form of art. Most of the murals you see

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here are commissioned by the city (Wyld, 2017, para. 11-12). Lisbon also has an abundance of murals, giving tourists an aesthetic view as they walk around the city (Wyld, 2017, para. 27-28). Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam has street art, but it can be difficult to find. Many murals are found in alleyways off main roads but are worth seeing (Wyld, 2017, para. 32).

Mexico is where street art originated in Latin America. The muralist movement started to gain traction at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1910, the Mexican Revolution began, halting the movement in Mexico. Once the revolution ended in 1920, street artists started painting again and the country began to give the art more value. Mexico's first president after the revolution, Álvaro Obregón, created the Ministry of Education. The minister of this department focused on art as a way to rebuild the country after the revolution (Mendoza Amaro, 2016, p. 15). From this moment on, street art grew in Mexico and soon spread to other Latin America countries including Chile. Mexico City is the most well-known place in Mexico to see street art. The city covers a large geographical area which results in many walls on which you can find street art. Many murals are painted with bright, vibrant colors so the painting calls to you and catches your attention (Wyld, 2017, para. 33).

The focus of the street art in this paper is from Valparaíso, Chile. Some sources are not specifically about street art, but have it incorporated into the source as supporting evidence. Most of the sources published, talk about the history of street art and why people paint murals. They also include different artists and their work. There is not much research about the street art in Valparaíso, Chile. The sources for this thesis explore street art in two ways that are helpful. Some sources talk about street art in Latin America and Chile (Trumper, 2016; Palmer, 2008; Ruiz, 2011; Lord K2, 2015). Others talk about street art and how it relates to political or social environments in general (Avramidis & Tsilimpounidi, 2017;

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Daichendt, 2014; McCormick, 2015; Banksy, 2007). These sources will allow me to explore street art in Latin America and show how in many places around the world, there is a connection between street art and the political, social, or economic environment including in Chile.

Street art and politics have always been associated with one another. From presidential elections to laws to protesting dictatorships, street art has been a way for people to express themselves. Even in the United States you can see political propaganda murals such as in the 2008 United States Presidential Election with Barack Obama (Daichendt, 2014). Many countries in Latin America experienced dictatorships and street art was a way to rebel against these dictators (Ruiz, 2011). During the dictatorship in Chile, people used it as a way to speak out against Augusto Pinochet (Lord K2, 2015). Chile used street art during their presidential election in the late 1960s and it is still present today.

Street art can be a powerful voice for painters because in many cases, it is painted to be seen in public areas where it is evident and visible. Murals in Chile are found in cities all over the country from Iquique in the north, to Santiago in the center, to Punta Arenas in the south.

Street artists paint on the walls so passersby can view their work and see their propaganda. In Valparaíso, murals can be seen on almost every street including from the main road along the coast. The public can see murals on topics ranging from politics to the social environment in Chile (Palmer, 2008; Ruiz, 2011).

Street art also gave people a way to advertise their political party or nominee in a prominent public place. They accomplished this using groups of people called *brigadas* (Trumper, 2016). They were groups of people that painted street art in public places to advertise their political nominee for president and first showed up in the 1960s (Palmer, 2008). The two

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main ones in Chile were associated with the socialist and communist parties (Trumper, 2016).

They would have lookouts while painting so they would not get caught by the police. This began the street art movement in Chile that is still going on today.

ANALYSIS OF STREET ART MURALS



Figure 1: Painted using brush (Appendix 3).

The street art painting shows a hand in the center. The hand is painted different colors, but the most prominent colors are blue and red. To the right of the hand, you can see the Chilean flag. Above the Chilean flag is the phrase “*La tierra para el que la trabaja,*” meaning “The land for those that work it.” To the left of the hand is the word “*Nehuen.*” The hand is holding what looks like a piece of grain. To the left of the word “*Nehuen,*” there is another piece of grain along with a red flower.

This street art represents the socialist party in Chile. The word “*Nehuen*” originates from the Mapuche language meaning strong and power. This shows that the people of the socialist party want to have the power to work their own land. They do not want the government

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coming in and taking over their property and telling them how to farm. The different colors make the painting very noticeable thus drawing attention to it and the issue depicted. The colors used are very bright and also represent the different colors you can see on a farm because of all the different vegetables and fruits that are grown. The red flower in the image is the *Copihue*, the national flower of Chile. It is found at high altitudes and are pink or red. They produce greenish fruits that are edible (Introduction to the Chilean Flora, 2012, para. 7). This mural was painted by the *Brigada Ramona Parra* (BRP). The BRP was founded in 1968 by young Chilean communists (Long, 2013, para. 7). They were created at the 6th Congress of the Communist Youth of Chile (San Martin, 2015, p. 1). Their name came from a 19 year old woman named Ramona Parra who was shot and killed by police in Santiago during a protest in 1946. They started to go out in groups and paint murals on the streets of Santiago so their voices could be heard through art (Long, 2013, para. 7). Their members “re-imagined the limits of public space through contingent muralism composed of written slogans” (San Martin, 2015, p. 1). The BRP associate themselves with the socialist party of Chile (Long, 2013, para. 9). They painted anti-capitalistic murals and murals about Salvador Allende. The BRP helped Allende become President of Chile by painting propaganda around the city. The messages were simple and easy to read for the illiterate people of Chile (Appendix 4). When Allende took office as President of Chile, the BRP began to represent the Popular Unity’s achievement. Their street art began to be full “of colorful stars, flowers, fists, hands, faces, and doves” (San Martin, 2015, p. 3). This was the way the BRP expressed the happiness of the new era of Allende. In the mural above, you can see painted a colorful hand and flower. Allende’s election transformed the group from having to paint in secret and at night, to being allowed to showcase their expressions. The Popular Unity created a cultural

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program called *La Nueva Cultura* (The New Culture). This program began commissioning murals by the BRP. They were asked to paint murals that represented the country's victories. The BRP introduced colors such as blue, red, and white to symbolize the colors of the Chilean flag. When Augusto Pinochet took control of the presidency of Chile, the BRP was forced to return to hiding and painting in the cover of night (San Martin, 2015, p. 3).

When General Augusto Pinochet took power over Chile in a military coup, the members of the BRP were tortured, exiled, and the communist party was outlawed. The murals painted by the BRP were painted over by the new military government. The BRP remained an active group, even though they had to go underground. As a result, they had to paint smaller murals meaning they had to redesign their tag. The new tag they used was the letter "R" with a circle around it and a star next to it. The "R" stood for resistance, the circle represented unity, and the star is a symbol of the BRP. If members were caught painting by the police, they would be arrested. The government would paint over their murals in black whenever they found them on the streets (Long, 2013, para. 10-16).

The BRP came out of hiding when Chile returned to democracy in 1990 and began painting all over Chile and Latin America (Long, 2013, para. 17). A major event in the history of the BRP was their march from Valparaíso to Santiago to protest the United States intervening in the Vietnam War. This march was comprised of about 2,000 *brigadistas* (the name of the members of the BRP) that painted murals along the march route to Santiago. This event was important because the BRP received a lot of attention which attracted many recruits for their organization (San Martin, 2015, p. 2).

The BRP established a central committee headquartered in Santiago and from there formed about 150 regional groups and local chapters around Chile. These regional groups and local

chapters were comprised of about eight to ten people (San Martin, 2015, p. 2). The main committee of the BRP would choose the topic the *brigadas* were to paint and the leaders of each chapter would explore locations for this message to be painted. The group would have daily discussions about their work. After they finished a painting, they would talk about the meaning of it. In the end, local chapters had the final say of what the painting would be as long as they stuck with the topic (Trumper, 2016, p. 95). Each member of the *brigada* have a specific role. The “*trazadores*,” plan the mural and sometimes the same people would also be the “*fileteadores*,” the ones who trace the letters and the image. The “*fondeadores*,” are in charge of painting the background while the “*rellenadores*,” fill in the outlines. The “*guardias*,” keep watch for any police officers (Palmer, 2008, p. 10). Normally, the outline and letters were always black, and the interior were mostly blue and yellow but sometimes included other colors. This was due to the fact that black, blue, and yellow were cheaper paints and more available. The BRP did not do much experimentation and stuck to their techniques; “the slogans were made by rapid one color brushwork during the night, which emphasized the political contingency of the muralists’ efforts” (San Martin, 2015, p. 2). The BRP’s goal was “a project of contingency in their cultural revolution” (San Martin, 2015, p. 2). Today, the BRP paints murals about the working class and indigenous population of Chile (Appendix 4).



Figure 2: Painted using spray paint (Appendix 3).

The mural shown above is depicting a man of dark skin tone wearing a Panama hat holding a guitar in a jungle. The Venezuelan flag is painted on the guitar with the writing “Simón Díaz.” In the background is a huge cliff with the sun raising behind it and a waterfall in the middle. On the cliff, there is writing that says “*Salto Ángel*.” To the right of the man is a toucan on a branch and to the left of the man is a jaguar with a red flower in front of it. In the top left corner of the mural, it says “Venezuela.”

The artist of this mural used the background of the jungle to represent the beauty of Venezuela. In the jungle scene, is the country’s most well-known landmark, “*Salto Ángel*” or Angel Falls. Angel Falls is the highest waterfall in the world standing at 979 meters (3,212 feet). It is located in the Canaima National Park in eastern Venezuela. The falls were discovered in 1937 by a North American pilot and adventurer Jimmy Angel. Before Angel

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arrived, the indigenous people of the area, los Pemones, called the waterfall *Churún Merú* (Angel Falls, para. 1-3). The jaguar and toucan represent the animals found in the jungles in Venezuela.

The man in the painting is Simón Narciso Díaz Márquez, also known as Tio Simon. Born on August 8, 1928 in Barbacoas, Venezuela, he was a famous musician. Simón was a singer and song writer. He is considered one of the most famous Venezuelans and has even won a Grammy award (Biografía de Simón Díaz, 2020, para. 1).

This mural represents Venezuela and makes it seem like the country is a beautiful place with amazing animals, happy people, and picturesque waterfalls. At one time, Venezuela was such a country. However, it is currently in an economic crisis and much of its population is fleeing the country and migrating to other countries in South America including Chile. People in Chile do not like the fact that Venezuelans are migrating to their country.

Venezuela has been in a crisis for some time due to the political corruption and recently has fallen even deeper into an economic crisis. There economy is very poor, and the political situation is unstable. The country has very high inflation which has affected most of the population. For example, the price of a cup of coffee in Caracas, the capital of Venezuela, has increased about 9,900% from January 8, 2019 to January 9, 2020. The political unrest is the result of two people claiming to be the president of the country. The presidency is being contested by President Nicolas Maduro and opposition leader Juan Guaido. President Maduro was reelected in January 2019, but many say the election was manipulated. Two weeks after the election results, Senior Guaido declared himself as acting president of Venezuela.

Socialist President Maduro has been in this position since he was first elected in April 2013.

When the most recent election was coming up, President Maduro imprisoned many opposition

leaders and party members. The National Assembly, controlled by the opposition party, did not recognize Maduro as president and according to the constitution, the leader of the assembly becomes president in this situation. Therefore, assembly leader Juan Guaidó declared himself president of Venezuela. Although he has the backing of the National Assembly, President Maduro has the support of the military, supreme court, and the electoral body. Since Juan Guaidó declared himself president, more than 50 countries have recognized him as the president of Venezuela including the United States and many countries in Latin America. However, other countries such as China and Russia recognize Maduro as the president. According to the United Nations, since the crisis began in 2014, an estimated 4.8 million Venezuelans have fled the country (Venezuela crisis: How the political situation escalated, 2020, para. 1-39).

Chile has become a refuge for Venezuelans during this crisis. Between 2015-2017, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reported the migration of Venezuelans to other Latin American countries increased 1,000%. As of November 2018, it is reported that about three million Venezuelans have left the country since the start of the crisis. Chile has about 100,000 Venezuelan immigrants according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the IOM. At first, many countries in South America worked with the UNHCR to find ways to take in these immigrants. Chile began “issuing a special one-year residency permit called the Visa of Democratic Responsibility” (Freier & Parent, 2019, p. 59). These programs have had many problems including online registration systems collapsing because of the volume of customers, high costs to apply, long wait times, and little information about the program for the migrants. Due to the high cost to apply, the program is basically limited to the upper class citizens of Venezuela (Freier & Parent, 2019, p. 56-59).

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Although it can be difficult to apply for a permit to stay in Chile, the country still has its border open for Venezuelan refugees. Some also receive government benefits. This is due to the fact that during the dictatorship of Pinochet, Venezuela took in many Chileans that were fleeing their country. At that point in time, Venezuela had a booming economy from the sale of oil. There is resistance from Chilean citizens. Some people in the country are racist and xenophobic towards the Venezuelan refugees. These people tend to be nationalists and members of the right wing and extreme left (Appendix 5).

Many Venezuelans are trying to make their way to Chile because of how appealing the country is to live in. Gabriela Cabellos, a spokeswoman for the Chilean immigration department said, “Chile looks on the map as a safe country with institutional stability and job opportunities” (Leon & Kraul, 2017, para. 24). So many Venezuelans have immigrated to Chile that they are beginning to recognize each other on the streets of Santiago. Adolfo Pena, a Venezuela immigrant, arrived in Santiago in July 2017. Pena said you can walk down the street in Santiago and one in every ten people you see is Venezuelan (Leon & Kraul, 2017, para. 22-24).



Figure 3: Painted using stencil and spray paint (Appendix 3).

This street art painting shows heads of cows during different parts of the day. At the very beginning of the painting, it says “*El Día Del Ganado Urbano.*” Next to that is the Pope

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holding a sign that says “*Bendito sea el Rebaño Obediente...*” After that, there are six cow faces and under each cow there is a time and a word or phrase. Under the first cow, it says “6:40AM- *Despertar*,” second cow “8:30AM- *Trabajar*,” third and fourth cow “12- *Comida Basura*,” fifth cow “6:50- *Consumer*,” and the last cow “9:15- *Entretención*.” At the end, there is a man dressed like Elvis Presley holding a sign that says “*Comprar el Sueño Gringo es Rock’n Roll*.” Painted on the background of the painting is a bunch of small cow heads. This painting represents the daily life of a working person. The sentence at the very beginning of the mural means “The day of the urban cattle.” The sign the Pope is holding says “Bless be the Obedient Flock.” The painting shows cow heads with writing and a times under them depicting what people do during their day. At the end, you have Elvis, who is an American icon, holding a sign saying, “Buying the Gringo dream is Rock’n Roll.” This basically means that this painting is showing the American Dream and that this dream is the best since it is compared to Rock’n Roll.

The first cow depicts a person when they wake up in the morning. The ears on the cow are bells symbolizing an alarm. Under the cow it says “6:40AM- To wake up.” Attached to the bell on the right is a price tag meaning the bells are new and doing their job of waking a person up. The second cow represents a working person. The cow is dressed in a suit ready for work. Under this cow, it says “8:30AM- To work” meaning at 8:30 in the morning, it is time for work. The next two cows show people ready for lunch. Sometimes you go out to lunch with a friend or co-worker so that is why two cows are shown for this part. It says “12- Trash food,” because most people only have about 30 minutes for lunch meaning they do not have time to eat at a nice sit down restaurant, they have to go out and get fast food. Behind the two cows is the McDonald’s logo which represents the fast food industries. People also

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usually eat lunch at about noon, but some places eat lunch later in the day. The next cow represents the end of the workday. Under this cow, it says “6:50- Consumer,” meaning this person worked all day and was paid for their work. Now they go out and spend their money buying food and other items. The right ear has a barcode on it representing the consumer going shopping. The last cow depicts the end of the day when a person goes home and relaxes. When you get home from a long day at work, you turn on your TV or play video games which are all a form of entertainment. Under this last cow, it says “9:15- Entertainment.” The cow’s ears are shaped as Mickey Mouse ears representing the entertainment industry, Disney. After this, you go back to the beginning of the mural and look at it again because it symbolizes daily life.

In the background of this mural are a bunch of small cow heads. These small cow heads represent the population. The big cow heads represent the ideal life; kind of like an ideal that we admire and aspire to be one day. The signs on the two ends of the mural symbolize what you will be if you get to be the big cow one day. If you become the big cow, the Pope is saying you will be blessed by God and Elvis is saying you are living the American Dream and you will be like him; rich and famous. Overall, this mural is telling everyone that they should live like this to be happy and wealthy (E. Ramirez, personal communication, April 4, 2020; Appendix 6).

The idea of the American dream is a well-known idea throughout the world. At first when people were immigrating to America, people saw this dream as being able to get a well-paying job. This proved more difficult for immigrants as they arrived in America and could only get menial jobs that did not pay well. They lived in small tenements with large families just trying to survive. Today, many people around the globe see the American dream as being

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wealthy and famous. People come to America in search of this dream but quickly realize that it is not an easy thing to accomplish. They see American television shows depicting how Americans live great lives but do not realize they have to work hard to accomplish this dream. The title of this painting is “*El Día del Ganado Urbano*” meaning “The day of the urban cattle.” The word “*ganado*” has a double meaning referring to cattle or won. This illustrates the fact that if you do what is on this mural, you have won. You are winning at life if you are the big cow in this painting. This mural is also a work of satire made by a French-Chilean group. The French are very big on satire and it is often evident in French literature. Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez says “this is a purely satirically piece that is kind of boosting, it is showing ‘hey look, this is the modern economical system and you should live like this because it is cool because it is great’” (E. Ramirez, personal communication, April 4, 2020; Appendix 6).

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Figure 4: Painted using spray paint (Appendix 3).

This next mural depicts a man in a suit with a gold bar across him. On the gold bar is written “5000 Kilo” which means the gold bar weighs 5,000 kilograms (about 11,023 pounds). You can tell this is a businessman or politician because the human figure is dressed in a suit and tie. Around the gold bar, are two chains crossing in the middle of the bar. This mural is located on the roof of a building and can be seen from the top of other buildings in the area. This painting is showcasing the greed of the businessmen. He is holding a gold bar with chains around it alluding to the idea that the gold bar is not his, but he is taking it anyway. Corruption is very common in Chile and often found in government departments and organizations. The businessman or represents the corruption of business and government in Chile even though Chile is considered a developed country. This also could portray most of

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Latin America. Latin America is very corrupt when it comes to governments and businesses. Showing this painting on top of a roof symbolizes that businessmen or government officials believe they are above the average person. They believe themselves to be of the upper class even if they are corrupt.

There is also a second interpretation of this mural. The man in the suit represents politicians and lawyers. These two occupations are synonymous when referencing this mural because most politicians in Chile are lawyers. The chains attached to the man symbolize not him stealing the gold but representing the fact that once they commit a white collar crime, they are bound forever by their decision and cannot change it. Some people would not be bothered by this, but some people will fill guilty for the rest of their life. The chains represent that action that affects you for the rest of your days (Appendix 7).

When compared to other South American countries, Chile has less corruption, but white collar crimes are still rampant in the country. Corruption in Chile goes as far back as the reestablishment of democracy after the end of the dictatorship in 1990. The first President of Chile after the dictatorship was President Patricio Aylwin. With the development of the new democracy, corruption among government employees became widespread. These corruption cases involved “siphoning off funds from ministries and public companies to finance electoral campaigns and party activities” (Silva, 2019, p. 191). Cases started to emerge of “illegal financing of political parties” with parties receiving money from private companies (Silva, 2019, p. 191). These cases hurt the image of Chile’s new democratic society and damaged the public opinion. The government of President Aylwin was compelled to take legal actions to try to stop the corruption scandals (Silva, 2019, p. 191-192).

One of the first cases of corruption to come to light during the Aylwin presidency was the DIGEDER case in 1992. The General Department of Sports and Recreation (DIGEDER) was audited and found to have a deficit equal to about US\$1,500,000 at the time. It was believed that this money was taken by the director of the Christian Democrat Party to help finance their campaigns however, this was never legally proven. There were at least two more big corruption scandals during Aylwin's presidency (Silva, 2019, p. 193-194).

The president that succeeded Aylwin was President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle. Three weeks into his presidency, he created the National Commission for Public Ethics to help control and stop corruption. One of their central objectives was to propose "reforms to existing control mechanisms on a series of unethical practices" (Silva, 2019, p. 195). These unethical practices include "financing of political parties and electoral campaigns, the conflicts of interest of those who carried out public duties and the illicit use of influences" (Silva, 2019, p. 195). The final report was given to the president suggesting 41 measures that would help prevent future acts of corruption. Although the president commissioned this report, there were still a few high profile corruption cases in Chile. These cases included the Copeva Case involving a construction company and the building of houses in southern Santiago, a case involving the State Maritime Company, and a case involving the National Institute for Youth. During the last few days of his presidency, there was a large scandal that involved 50 managers of public companies that were appointed during his government. They all received extravagant severance packages once they left their positions at the completion of President Ruiz-Tagle administration. Later on, it came to people's attention that another 59 managers of public companies received the same extravagant severance package at the end of the administration (Silva, 2019, p. 196-199).

The next leader of Chile was President Ricardo Lago. When he was elected president in 2000, Chile was still dealing with the severance pay scandal from the previous administration. One of his first acts as president was to have the Council for the Defense of the State (CDE) examine the criminality of the enormous amount of severance pay given out by the previous leader. The outcome was that the amount of pay was not an illegal act. President Lago was disappointed and highly recommended each person involved return the money and retire from public service. Most kept their money and retired. Just like previous presidents, there were scandals during Lago's presidency. One was a bribery case that involved the Deputy Secretary of Transport and the MOP-GATE case which implicated the Ministry of Public Works (MOP). Many cases during the presidency of Lago involved collusion between private and public entities. Another well-known case was the Inverlink case. A secretary of the Central Bank received private information from the president of the Central Bank's computer and gave that information to Inverlink, a financial investment company, and was compensated with US\$60,000 for the information. The court tried both the secretary and the Inverlink executives for this scandal. The three cases above really hurt the public's trust in the government (Silva, 2019, p. 199-201).

Towards the end of Lago's presidency, his administration worked on measures to help stop the corruption. Lago appointed Home Secretary José Miguel Insulza and Pablo Longueira, leader of the Independent Democratic Union (UDI), to work on some measures. They negotiated an agreement called the "Political Legislation Agreements for State Modernisation, Transparency and Encouraging Growth" (Silva, 2019, p. 202). In this legislation there were 49 measures with the most significant one being the establishment of the National Civil Service Department. Their duty was "applying regulations on how human resources were

managed in accordance with the state's central administration" (Silva, 2019, p. 202). Other measures include a system for the government to obtain goods and services making the government procurement process information available to the people via online and caps on electoral spending and required transparency from private companies that donate to campaigns. In August 2003, all of this was created as Law 19,884 "On the Transparency, Limits and Control of Electoral Spending" (Silva, 2019, p. 203).

In 2006 Michelle Bachelet was elected as the first women President of Chile. Like her predecessors, she had to deal with corruption scandals during her presidency. However, many of these cases were discovered due to the new anti-corruption legislation formed during Lago's presidency. Two big cases that came to light during her time in office was the Chiledeportes case involving the finances of the National Institute of Sport (Chiledeportes) and the Publicam case that concerned false invoices for parliamentary elections done by the Publicam company. There were also many cases of malpractice in the government during this administration. In November, Bachelet asked a group of experts to draw up a report "with new proposals for public probity" (Silva, 2019 p. 207). She presented these findings to the public later that month. Most of the proposals in the Ferreiro Commission suggested improving the measures already in place by previous administrations. Bachelet wrote two bills to parliament that involved what was found in the commission. It took three years for the bills to be approved and many changes were made with some items disappearing and some modified (Silva, 2019 p. 204-208).

One of the reasons for the protests that started on October 18th, 2019 was the corruption in Chile (Appendix 7). Corrupt politicians and businessmen had been stealing millions of dollars and were given extremely light sentences for their white collar crime. Ordinary people in

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Chile are given harsher punishments for smaller crimes. The corruption goes as far up in the government as current President Sebastián Piñera. He was found to have not paid taxes on a house he owns in Caburgua for 30 years. The result was the treasury of Chile deciding to charge the president for only three out of the 30 years. Another big corruption scandal in Chile was the Penta scandal. This scandal involved one of the country's biggest financial groups using "a system of falsified invoices to direct funds to the political parties to avoid paying taxes" (Loofbourow, 2019, para. 27). The two owners of this company were arrested and put in jail during trial. They were found guilty of bribery and "excessive campaign contributions in exchange for generous tax cuts" (Loofbourow, 2019, para. 27). However, the only sentence they both received was a fine, probation, and they both had to take an ethics course (Loofbourow, 2019, para. 27-28).



Figure 5: Painted using spray paint possibly also brush (Appendix 3).

This picture shows three fish. The fish are brown on top, blue on the bottom, and have human feet with holes in them. Above the fish, it says "*Baile Chilote*." On the right side, there is a

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house that has an eyeball looking out the only window on the house. This mural symbolizes two different things.

Firstly, it represents *Isla Grande de Chiloé* (Greater Island of Chiloé). This island is located in southern Chile in the Los Lagos Region and is about 3,241 square miles (8,394 square kilometers). The people who live on this island are known as Chilotes and survive on raising livestock, farming, and fishing (Lotha, 2007, para. 1). The artist who painted this is named Daniel Marcelli who is native to the island. Depicted in the painting is an old tradition of the island's people which is the "*Baile Chilote*" (Chilote dance). The human feet of the fish have wounds of stigmata displaying the people's devotion to God. This is also represented by the church in the mural. The hat worn on the fish symbolizes traditional hats worn by the fisherman and made of sheep's wool. The fish in the picture are salmon, an extremely popular industry in Chiloé. They provide about 18% of salmon to the world. The scales on the salmon symbolize the "Germanic style of building" because the people of the island use wood shaped like scales on the sides of the buildings so the rain flows to the ground (Appendix 8). At the end of the ribbon that the words are written on, is the head of a snake. This denotes the origin story of the island as told by the indigenous people, the legend of Ten Ten Vilú and Cai Cai Vilú (Appendix 8).

The legend of Ten Ten Vilú and Cai Cai Vilú begins with Peripillán and Antu, the most powerful spirits on Earth. Each had a son, but both sons ended up being awful. To punish them, Peripillán and Antu turned them into giant snakes. They were named Ten Ten Vilú ("Ten" meaning earth and "Vilú" meaning snake) and Cai Cai Vilú ("Cai" meaning water and "Vilú" meaning snake). They sent Ten Ten Vilú to be the ruler of the Earth, volcanoes, fire, and to help humans. Cai Cai Vilú was sent to be the ruler of the sea and to watch after the life

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in the ocean. One day, Cai Cai Vilú realized how selfish humans were being when it came to the things the sea provided for them. This made Cai Cai Vilú very angry and he hit the water with his tail creating a huge tsunami. The water began flooding the land and taking the humans to the bottom of the sea. Ten Ten Vilú saw what was happening and remembered that his duty was to protect the humans. To help them, he put many humans on his back and brought them to the top of the hills. The people he could not save, he turned into birds so they could fly away from the water. However, Cai Cai Vilú was still angry and he kept making the sea level raise higher and higher. As the water level increased, Ten Ten Vilú commanded the hills to grow bigger. Cai Cai Vilú became even angrier and attacked Ten Ten Vilú. The fight lasted a long time and they eventually both grew tired and stopped fighting. Although the fighting was over, the sea level did not go back down. There was still some land left standing above the sea and this became the island of Chiloé. Cai Cai Vilú retired and left other beings in command of the sea. The humans who did not make it to the hills became sea animals (Cai Cai Vilú and Ten Ten Vilú, para. 1-7).

This painting also represents the struggling fishing industry in Chile. The government of Chile has not been kind to local fishermen. They have given more freedom to industrial fishing companies which hurts the traditional fishing communities that use primitive boats and nets. They cannot compete with big industries that use huge boats and large nets. The house with the eye looking out symbolizes the fishermen seeing their livelihood being taken away or the government watching over the fishermen to make sure they do not violate the laws. The Chilean government has had a negative impact on the people of Chiloé and their fishing community.

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The government of Pinochet favored the huge fishing companies and helped them out with policies and protection. Pinochet made sure salmon companies could conduct business with very little oversight by the government. This allowed firms to take ownership of water rights and create large salmon farms. The government also “allowed the Chilean navy to grant protected aquaculture concessions to wealthy entrepreneurs from Santiago” (Gerhart, 2017, p. 729).

There are two categories of fishermen in Chile; artisanal fishermen and industry fishermen. Artisanal are traditional fishermen who fish to survive and sell some of their catch in their local community. Some sell them outside their community but mostly it stays within a specific geographic area. Industry fishermen are those who work for companies and fish large amounts to sell all over the world. Many artisanal fishermen have protested against the Chilean government for unfair regulations against them and only caring about the industry fishermen. Starting in the mid-1990s, artisanal fishermen started protesting because of their pay. In 2008, an artisanal fisherman from Chiloé, who only knows fishing, had a median monthly income of US\$194. At the same time, the minimum wage in Chile was US\$304 a month and the median monthly income of a salmon worker was US\$404. With no other job opportunities in these rural areas, artisanal fishermen were frustrated, and this fueled the protests (Gerhart, 2017, p. 729-730).

The protests were also sparked by the loss of access to fish. The salmon industry continued to grow making it difficult for artisanal fishermen to compete with them. These companies created salmon farms to harvest the fish, but this created many problems. The salmon farms were affecting other people’s occupations on the island. Divers who collected cusk eel were complaining that escaped salmon were eating the eels thus decreasing the population. Mussel

farmers also blamed the salmon farms for creating red tides that were toxic and polluting their mussels. The Chilean government was not regulating the salmon industry which lead to huge protests. Protesters set barricades on fire along major highways to block vehicles transporting fresh salmon. They blocked entrances to salmon factories and conducted hungry strikes. In 2008, the salmon industry was hit with a disease that killed many salmon (Gerhart, 2017, p. 730). The disease was the Infectious Salmon Anaemia (ISA) which is an infectious viral disease (Scottish Government, 2009, para. 1). Many salmon workers were laid off and joined the artisanal fishermen's protest of the industry particularly in rural areas (Appendix 9). ISA paralyzed the industry which lead to larger protests due to worker layoffs because of declining profits. The climax of the protests occurred when the organization called SalmonChile moved their headquarters from Santiago to Puerto Montt, a city just north of Chiloé. Two weeks after moving to their new headquarters, they were firebombed by an anarchist group called *Comando Autónomo Tres de Mayo* (Autonomous Command May 3rd). This attack is "the most aggressive symbol of protest against the salmon industry to date" (Gerhart, 2017, p. 731-732).

Problems with fishing in Chiloé is still an issue today. In 2016, Chile had a record toxic red tide which was the worst the country has ever experienced. Chileans are blaming the salmon industry's fish farms for causing the red tide. This new wave of toxic red tide caused thousands of salmon to die along with the deaths of sardines, clams, birds, jellyfish, and mammals. Again, fishermen took to the streets protesting the salmon industry and blaming them for the red tide and attacking the government of Chile for not doing anything about the issue. The loss of many sea creatures strongly affected the people of Chiloé. The Chilean government in turn blamed the strong El Niño that was warming the Pacific Ocean. The

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government declared a state of disaster for southern Chile and paid all affected families 100,000 Chilean pesos (about US\$150). Fishermen are unhappy because they say it is not enough and it is not solely El Niño that is causing this issue. They blame poor regulations of the aquaculture trade. Between February and March 2016, 25 million salmon died in 25 farms in Chile. To dispose of the dead salmon, the government dumped about 70% of the dead fish 80 miles (130 kilometers) off the coast of Chiloé. A few weeks later, more dead sea creatures washed up on the island leading many to believe that the dumping of the dead salmon in the sea had something to do with this new wave of dead fish. Scientists do not know how much the salmon industry contributes to the red tide, but they do believe it does contribute (Pfeiffer, 2016, para. 1-18).

The future is very uncertain for the fishing communities of Chiloé. The toxic blooms can take a while to disappear and even longer for the toxin to leave the fish they eat. Scientists and the people of Chiloé continue to look to the Chilean government to do more to combat this problem (Pfeiffer, 2016, para. 22).

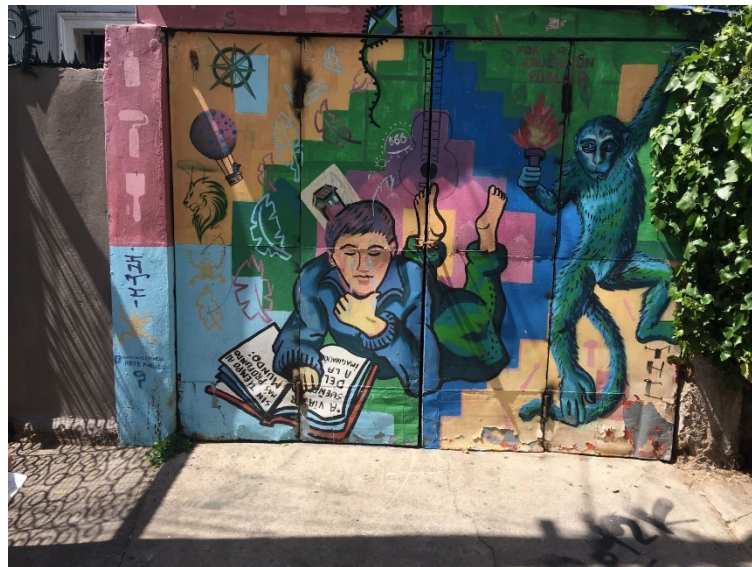


Figure 6: Painted using brush (Appendix 3).

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This mural above shows a student wearing a blue sweater and green pants in the middle crying over a book. Next to the student is a blue monkey holding a torch in its right hand. Above the monkey's head, it says "*Por la educación pública*" (for the public education). The book the student is crying over says "*A viajar sueño del a la imaginación sin tiempo al más profundo mundo*" (dream to travel from the imagination without time to the deepest world). The mural represents the poor quality of the public education system in Chile. The student crying expresses the struggle of students in Chile to get an education because the system is so atrocious. The quote in the book the student is reading means students in Chile have a great imagination and they dream of bigger things such as traveling but with no time and a poor education, it is hard. The blue monkey represents the evolution of education and the torch represents the enlightenment education can provide students.

Education in Chile has changed over the years with different leaders wanting different types of education systems. During the presidency of Salvador Allende, the government attempted to "launch curricular and institutional reforms more aligned with his social and economic transformation program of socialist orientation" (Solimano, 2012, p. 103). This program was called *Escuela Nacional Unificada* (ENU) (Unified National School). The ENU was criticized by the political opposition and the church. Allende tried to implement these educational reforms in the 1970s but was unable to complete the process before the military regime overthrew him on September 11, 1973 (Solimano, 2012, p. 103).

When the military regime took over, their goal was to create a "private-sector-oriented education system" (Solimano, 2012, p. 103). The government created a market-based education system to go with its overall idea of a free-market revolution. The goal of this was to push for more private sectors to get involved with education services from kindergarten to

college and to back the development of private universities that are not regulated. This made the owners of the private universities very wealthy, but the quality of education was lacking. Throughout the military regime, the education system taught ideology to future generations in hopes of keeping students from protesting for social change. The military regime passed the *Ley Orgánica Constitucional de Educación* (LOCE) (Constitutional Organic Education Law) on its last day in office. The LOCE made it difficult for the new government to change the education laws because the new parliament would have to pass any changes to the constitution by a qualified majority. Due to this, there has been very little education reform since the military regime (Solimano, 2012, p. 100-104).

After the regime ended in Chile, the proceeding governments have been afraid to change the LOCE. Changing it might mean clashes with conservative groups that are close to the former regime. The LOCE says that towns and cities are responsible for managing schools and appointing school masters in public and subsidized schools. Previously, the Ministry of Education had the responsibility of managing public schools. Under the LOCE, the government subsidies were given to public and private schools for every student that was enrolled. As of 2010, it was estimated the contribution of Chile to public universities was less than 20%. A report on higher education completed by OECD and the World Bank found that schools in Chile paid for 80% of their cost by student fees and other charges (Solimano, 2012, p. 100-104).

Although the governments after the military regime did not want to modify education reform, President Michelle Bachelet was pressured to start making changes to the LOCE in response to a student movement in the fall and winter of 2006, which called for reform. The number one demand of the students was for Chile to stop profit from being the motive when it comes

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to managing the education system. President Bachelet created a new legislation called *Ley General de Educación* (LGE) (General Education Law). The reforms that were included in the LGE were improving the quality of education, strengthening the regulations for subsidized schools, giving schools less flexibility in accepting students, and more. However, teachers and students were still unhappy with this change as it still did not address the important issues in the education system including schools being for-profit, the subsidy system, the public schools being dependent on the towns, and decreasing the gap in resources between public and private schools (Solimano, 2012, p. 104-106).

Illiteracy has been an immense problem in Chile for many years. Chile has about ten generations spanning the last 200 years. Out of the ten generations, eight of them are illiterate. This is due to the fact that Chile has been governed under a dictatorship for many years. Dictatorships do not want people to be educated except on information they provide. They do not want people to have their own thoughts and ideas. Even today, literacy is still kept to a minimum at schools and universities. The government is working on changing this, but it is a slow process (E. Ramirez, personal communication, January 22, 2020; Appendix 10).

In the last few years, society is encouraging students to read more on their own as it is not happening in the public school system. The tax on books makes this difficult because books are taxed at 32% which is extremely high. In recent years, the Chilean government has eliminated everyone in the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage which has improved the ministry. This new ministry has refocused on helping kids and even some adults to read. This is being done through reading programs in prisons and holding reading drives for kids (E. Ramirez, personal communication, January 22, 2020; Appendix 10).

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As students start becoming avid readers on their own, they are reading the same types of books. The books that they are reading have themes that include doubting authority and having their own ideas. This is due to recent events in Chile such as the protests in the Fall 2019. Students are reading books such as Fahrenheit 451, Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel, and Animal Farm making them popular due to the depiction of totalitarianism and government overreach. Students have also been reading more about Aristotle and Plato and learning about their achievements. These books are giving students ideas and increasing their knowledge. Geographical boundaries make outside ideas difficult to flow into Chile unless you seek them out. The country has the Pacific Ocean to the west, the Andes Mountains to the east, Patagonia to the south, and the Atacama Desert, the driest desert in the world, to the north. Another area that students are reading about is space and NASA. This is because in San Pedro de Atacama in northern Chile, there is a huge telescope used to look at space and most people in Chile know about this telescope and are interested in learning about what it is used for (E. Ramirez, personal communication, January 22, 2020; Appendix 11).

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Figure 9: Painted using a mix of brush and spray paint (Appendix 3).

This street art shows two nude women sitting on their knees inside of a tube. They are on opposite sides of each other, holding hands in the middle. The object shaped like a tube is a pill. The color of the pill is blue, white, and red. The women have two different shades of skin and two different hairstyles.

This picture was painted to represent the morning after pill, after it was legalized for younger women. The naked women in the picture represents the happiness Chileans feel having access to the morning after pill if needed. The colors in the pill symbolize the colors of the Chilean flag. This represents that fact that the pill is legal in Chile now and is part of Chilean society. Many people were opposed to the legalization of the morning after pill however, this mural is still around and has not been vandalized. I believe this shows that many Chileans are more accepting of new ideas or that there are more young Chileans in Valparaíso than older Chileans.

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In September 2006, the morning after pill was made available to women as young as 14 years old free of charge. Before this bill was passed, the age limit was 16 years old and the pill was limited to women who were raped. This new bill allows women to have the pill whether they were raped or not and can be as young as 14 years old. Many people were outraged at this bill in a country that is socially conservative and very Catholic. The President of Chile at the time, President Michelle Bachelet, was very happy this bill passed. This policy was very important to the socialist physician who was Chile's first female president. She vowed to make men and women equal and to work on contraceptive programs including this one. When the bill first came out, the Catholic parents association and two conservative mayors filed an injunction. At the end of September, the Fifth Appeals Court of Santiago lifted it allowing the pill to be available to every woman over the age of 14 (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 1).

Many politicians in Chile still plan on fighting this bill. A mayor in the Santiago suburb of La Florida called this bill "a slap in the face of Chile's mothers and fathers" (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 1). Another mayor, Marta Ehlers, of the Santiago suburb of Lo Barnechea says her town would not participate in this program "even if it means that I have to go to jail" (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 2). The Catholic parents association also objects to this bill believing it will "encourage sexual promiscuity and increase sexually transmitted diseases among youth" (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 1). The Catholic bishops of Chile associate this program to "policies imposed by totalitarian regimes to establish state control over the intimate lives of citizens" (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 2).

However, the younger generation are happy with this and believe that their parents are out of touch. In today's society, adolescents are having sex earlier and they need the education and protection to be safe. The Health Minister of Chile, Maria Soledad Barria, believes that

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providing free morning after pills will help decrease the pregnancy rate in adolescents, especially the poor. The Health Ministry says that 17% of pregnancies in Chile are women ages 15 to 19 and about 32,000 women end up in hospitals every year for complications from abortions. Along with this, almost 14% of women in Chile are teenage mothers (Latin America Data Base Staff, 2006, p. 1-3).



Figure 11: Painted using a mix of brush and spray paint (Appendix 3).

This mural shows a human heart painted with many different colors and shapes. There are nine different patterns within the heart.

The nine patterns within the heart represent the nine indigenous groups in Chile. These nine groups are Mapuche, Aymara, Diaguita, Atacameño, Quechua, Colla, Kawésqar, Rapa Nui, and Yámana. As of 2019, indigenous people made up 9% of the total population of Chile, indicating 1,585,680 people of the 19,035,864 are indigenous (Chile, para. 4; Chile Population, 2020). This group of people are unhappy with the Chilean government because

they are no laws protecting them. Chile is the only Latin American country that does not recognize indigenous people in the country's constitution. Many people in Chile are discriminatory against them which is often shown with violence. The Chilean government does very little to help the indigenous people against these attacks (Chile, para. 1). An example of this occurred in October 2018, when a Mapuche house was burned. The home was part of a small Mapuche settlement that was a tourist attraction. People could visit and learn about the Mapuche culture. Fortunately, no one was hurt or killed but this act of violence demonstrates how mistreated and unprotected the indigenous people of Chile are.

The largest indigenous group in Chile are the Mapuche representing 84% of the indigenous population. The Aymara, Diaguita, Lickanantay, and Quechua groups together represent 15%. Most indigenous people live in urban areas of Chile. The largest concentration of this native people is found in the Metropolitan (30.1%), Araucanía (19.6%), and Los Lagos (13.1%) regions. However, many of this subset of the population can still be found in rural areas with about 24.7% of indigenous people living in these areas as of 2015 (Chile, para. 4-5).

Another issue the indigenous population face is poverty. For some of these natives, it is difficult to find jobs as many Chileans discriminate against them. Chile's Ministry of Social Development says 30.8% of the indigenous people live in poverty compared to the 19.9% of the non-indigenous people that live in poverty (Chile, para. 6).

Chile has been working on protecting the indigenous people more and granting them the rights they deserve. It has been a slow process and there have been many challenges, but they are still working on improving the life of these people. The government of Chile adopted the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples on September 13, 2007. The Ministry of Social Development has also begun the process of discussing the perspectives of

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indigenous people in connection to drafting a new constitution that would include the native people of Chile. This process was known as the “Indigenous Constitutional Assembly Process.” The people involved in this process collected ideas that included “the indigenous peoples' legal recognition as nations, the status of Chile as plurinational State, the right to the self-determination and autonomy, the right to the territory and natural resources, the right to special indigenous representation, and linguistic and social rights” (Chile, para. 10). Unfortunately, many of the ideas have not yet been adopted and continue to be fought for by these people (Chile, para. 2-10).



Figure 13: Painted using brush (Appendix 3).

This street art shows two people on either side of the artwork, one man and one woman. Both the man and woman have their heads decorated. In the center is a tree and above the tree is a sun with a face in the middle of it. There are different colors in the sky including blue, purple, yellow, and red. On the left between the man and the tree are bare mountains that are brown. Between the woman and the tree on the right side are mountains that are green and covered in trees.

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The indigenous community in Chile is represented in this painting. The man and woman are dressed in decorative head gear which is common indigenous dress. In the middle of the painting is the tree of life. The Mapuche, an indigenous group in Chile, believe that the tree represents life hence is at the center of most Mapuche communities. Above the tree is the sun. The sun represents life because no animal or plant can survive without the sun. In the painting, the sun is the largest and most central symbol in the mural.

The Mapuche are Indians that live in Chile and some parts of Argentina. Mapuche means “people of the Earth” (Mapuche, para. 1). At the turn of the 21st century, there were more than 1,400,000 Mapuche living in South America. Most live in the Central Valley of Chile, south of Santiago but others can be found in the province of Neuquén in Argentina. In addition, Mapuche can also be found living in other parts of Chile, in the north, in the capital, and further south. Before the Spaniards invaded Chile, the Mapuche were known as Araucanians. The Araucanians were made up of three groups; Huilliche, Mapuche, and Picunche. Today, they are all known as the Mapuche. The Mapuche live in farming villages throughout central and southern Chile. Every settlement has a *cacique*, chief, who only has authority over that one settlement. For food, they grow many vegetables such as beans, chili peppers, corn, potatoes, and squash. They also fish, hunt, and keep guinea pigs for meat. Llamas are an important animal that is part of the Mapuche’s culture. They use them for their wool, and they keep packs of them. A man’s wealth is based on the numbers of llamas in his herd (Augustyn, 2020, para. 1-2).

The Mapuche struggled against the Spanish and then the Chileans for about 350 years. To resist the Spanish invasion in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, villages came together to form an alliance to fight a common enemy. They learned how to use horses to fight the Spaniards

and the Mapuche leaders learned fighting strategies. Once Chile became independent from Spain in the 1800s, the government put the Mapuche on reservations that were owned by the government. However, the government, in the 1980s, reassigned ownership of the land to individual Mapuche. This led to financial hardship for some. They are now at risk of losing their land and everything on it if they are unable to pay their debts (Augustyn, 2020, para. 3-4).

The Mapuche have always been treated poorly by the Chilean government. When a dictatorship was established by Augusto Pinochet, the Mapuche were abused. Pinochet took away plots of land from them and treated them inhumanly. In the 1990s, after Pinochet's dictatorship, life for the Mapuches worsened. The Chilean government teamed up with foreign capitalist companies to take land away from the Mapuche people. These companies would burn their own equipment and then blame them. This led to many Mapuches being wrongfully arrested and treated badly by the police. Since Chile became an independent country in 1810, the Mapuches have never been recognized by the government or Chile's constitution. Due to this, their resources, rights, and land are able to be legally taken away from them. However, in 1993, a law was passed that protected and promoted indigenous populations. This law "recognized certain rights, guaranteed the protection of land and water and introduced multi-cultural and bilingual education" and "prohibits discrimination" (Moylan, 1999, para. 13). Even though this law exists, it is not followed and the Mapuche still fight to protect their land and way of life (Moylan, 1999, para. 11-13). Mapuches protested against the Chilean government and in 2017, many were arrested. Chile broadly used the Antiterrorist Act to put many Mapuche members behind bars. This act was invoked against 23

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Mapuches in 2017 “charged with terrorist homicidal arson, terrorist arson, and/or terrorist conspiracy” (Chile, para. 9).

The landscape in the painting represents different parts of Chile. The country is long, and the landscape and climate vary greatly between the northern and southern regions. The bare, brown mountains between the man and the tree symbolizes the Atacama Desert in northern Chile. The Atacama Desert is miles of dry, barren mountains and valleys. The landscape between the tree and the woman represent the forested land in southern Chile. Patagonia is located in southern Chile and is a large area of green wilderness and tall mountains. This suggests that no matter where you are in the country, you can find indigenous people and communities.



Figure 16: Painted using brush with a little spray paint (Appendix 3).

The artwork above shows a man in ragged clothing that is too big for him with a sleeping dog. The man is holding a glass bottle in his left hand and has a pipe in his mouth. The dog and the man are located on top of a hill with a fire in front of them. Along the hill, are different colored houses that shrink in size as you go further up the hill. At the bottom of the hill is

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located a body of water with some ships and boats. In the sky, there are pieces of land with many houses on them. These houses look like they are piled on top of each other. There is also another structure floating in the sky that is on stilts and has grey lines coming out the bottom of it.

Represented in this mural is the lower class in Chile and more specifically in Valparaíso. This city is made up of 42 *cerros* (hills) and the higher up the hill you go, the poorer the community gets. At the bottom of the hills near the Pacific Ocean, are the rich people of the city. At the top of the hills, are the poor people. Some do not even have a house to live in, like the man in the mural. This man does not just represent the lower class but the homeless as well.

The floating pieces of land in the sky with houses on them represent the hills of Valparaíso. Just like the big hill in the mural, the floating hills have houses that are different colors. This is how people in the city identify what house they live in. They know what hill they live on and what color their house is. The big hill that the man is on, has different size houses which also represents the difference between the upper class and lower class. The orange house on the bottom left of the mural is very large with many windows. The blue house on the top right of the mural is small with very few windows.

The city of Valparaíso has one of the highest poverty rates in Chile. Most of the people who live in poverty are found in the hills above the city (Salinas-Silva, 2015, p. 8; Appendix 12). The upper class is found at the bottom of the hills near the city center and the historical area. This “process of socio-spatial segregation” has occurred for many years and continues today (Salinas-Silva, 2015, p. 8). Some people in Chile do not see class as low, middle, and high

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like we do in the United States. Some see the classes as the working class and the elite (E. Ramirez, personal communication, February 17, 2020; Appendix 13).

In the ghettos of Valparaíso, people have the basic resources to live like water and electricity, but many do not have sewage and most roads are unpaved making it difficult to travel down the hill. Along with not having certain amenities, these communities have been affected by cocaine. Drug use often leads to job loss and a life of poverty (E. Ramirez, personal communication, February 17, 2020; Appendix 13). Chile has a large percentage (compared to five other South American countries) of people who start using cocaine in secondary school. The “lifetime prevalence among high school students” in Chile is about 5.8% (Dowell et al., 2010, p. 40). This is the highest percentage compared to Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay (Appendix 14). Students are starting to get addicted to cocaine early in Chile and it is affecting their ability to finish their education as while as hold down a job. Thus, they end up living in poverty or homelessness. You can find many drug dealers and drug lords that live in the hills of Valparaíso because that is where their customers are (Dowell et al., 2010, p. 40-41).

With the poverty rate being high in Valparaíso, stealing is common. It is difficult for people to order stuff they need off Amazon and other online sources because of the lack of internet or not having the money to pay for it. People usually go to the black market to get what they need or steal it. Phones are a common item stolen in Valparaíso whether it is at night or during the day. Some people steal items from containers at the port. The city is one of the largest port cities in South America and many containers can be found there. People sneak into the port and steal items from containers that they need to survive or that they can sell on the street (E. Ramirez, personal communication, February 17, 2020; Appendix 13).

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In the painting, the man has an empty glass bottle next to him. This bottle represents Chile because wine is inexpensive and accessible. Grapes are very easily grown in Chile and are abundant throughout the country. Many Chilean artists will put wine bottles in paintings to represent Chile because it is readily available (E. Ramirez, personal communication, February 17, 2020; Appendix 13).

CONCLUSION

Even though many people view street art as vandalism, a part of urban landscapes, or an aesthetic form, it also exists as a means to communicate social, political, and economic problems, as well as generate emotional responses from the public at large. Street art has been present in Latin America for over a century and in Chile since the 1940s. It has had a great impact influencing social, political, and economic events throughout Chile from the election of Salvador Allende to the controversial dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Street art is an important part of Chilean society. This form of art has given a voice to the voiceless and become a powerful way of being heard. People who paint these murals believe in what they are painting and want to be heard by everyone. The emotions behind street art are strong and often moving to people. There is still more to learn about street art and the meaning behind the paint. Talking to street artists around the world and asking why they paint would help deepen the understanding behind the meaning of street art. Having more insight into street art would assist in strengthening this research. Today, people no longer need a loud voice to express how they feel; all they need is an empty wall and some paint. As Banksy, a world-famous street artist, once said “speak softly, but carry a big can of paint” (Wall and Piece, 2007).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview with Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about street art in Latin America and Chile.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1KXp_YM5_8QXQUuNMINbhQHSMezd0pK91/view?usp=s
[haring](#)

Appendix 2: “Latin America”



Appendix 3: Email from street artist Nick Platzer about the technique used to paint these murals.

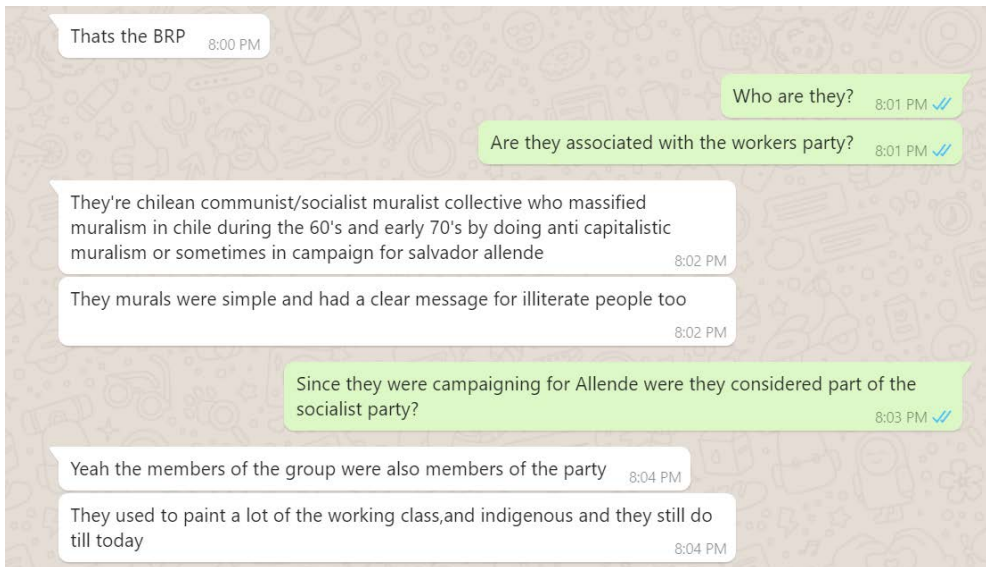
From: Nick Platzer [REDACTED]
Sent: Tuesday, January 7, 2020 2:06 PM
To: Alexander Mangione-Smith [REDACTED]
Subject: Re: Street Art

Figure 1- brush
Figure 2- spraypaint
Figure 3- spraypaint and stencil
Figure 4 - spray paint
Figure 5- spraypaint possibly also brush
Figure 6- brush
Figure 7 (not pictured)- brush
Figure 8 (not pictured)- likely a mix of brush and spraypaint
Figure 9- mix of brush and spraypaint
Figure 10 (not pictured)- mix of brush and spraypaint
Figure 11- mix of brush and spraypaint
Figure 12 (not pictured)- spraypaint
Figure 13- brush
Figure 14 (not pictured)- spraypaint likely some brush as well
Figure 15 (not pictured)- spraypaint with a little brush
Figure 16 - brush with a little spraypaint

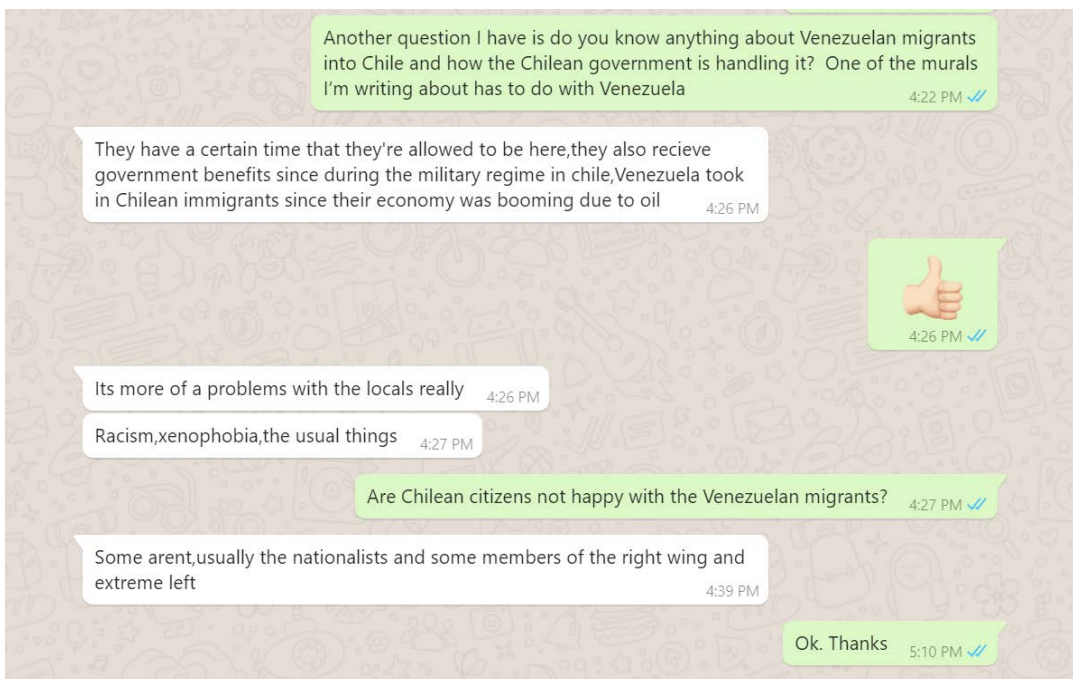
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Appendix 4: WhatsApp messages from Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about the BRP.



Appendix 5: WhatsApp messages from Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about Venezuelans migrating to Chile.



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Appendix 6: Interview with Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about daily life.

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1rMv6TVpBMGWCaJEFEFRm_9o4OvHQnvpV/view?usp=s
[haring](#)

Appendix 7: WhatsApp messages from Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about corruption in Chile.



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Appendix 8: WhatsApp messages from Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about Chiloé.

This mural is done by Daniel Marcelli a street artist from chiloe, this mural is depicting one of the oldest traditions of the Isle which is the chilote dance known in chile as the Baile Chilote, some symbology in it suggests typical traits of the people of chiloe, like the stigmata in their feet means their devout in religion, the money falls out of the pocket meaning they dont make much and yet they dont mind sharing it, the hat is a traditional hat made in the area out of sheep's wool which is mainly used by fishermen which is also linked to the shape of the people, the Salmon, which is a huge industry in Chiloe and provies 18% of salmon to the world, also their scales represent the germanic style of building there, using wooden scales on the sides of buildings so rain flows downwards

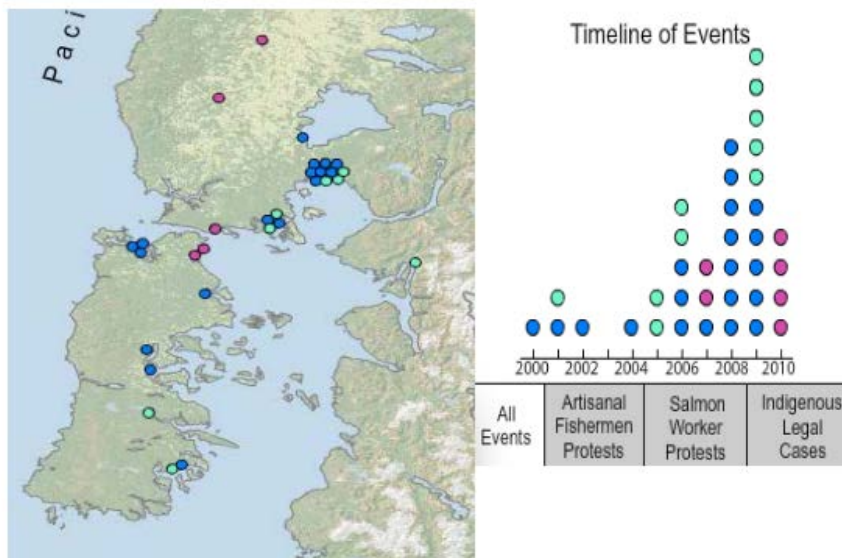
11:03 PM

And the last symbol is the ribbon which tales the story of the formation of chiloe according to indigenous and old spanish legends of Ten Ten Vilu & Cai Cai Vilu

11:04 PM

Appendix 9: Protests around salmon flu, indigenous land tenure, and fishing, 2000-2010.

Green: artisanal fishermen protests; Blue: salmon worker protests; Magenta: indigenous legal cases. Source: Anne Winslow and Andrew Gerhart, Stanford Spatial History Lab, CESTA, Stanford University.



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Appendix 10: Interview with Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about education in Chile.

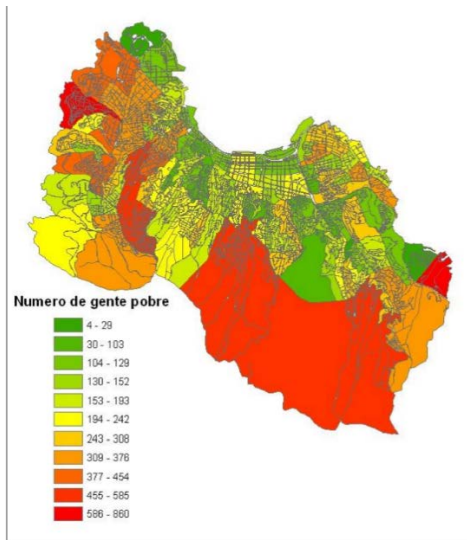
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1q1Bp7YZZ05ieHhrMlIKYFJSFvuJKQWvr/view?usp=sharing>

[g](#)

Appendix 11: Interview with Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about education in Chile.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1UzjXfy9J6h8pGtJbcdGGAliYNt0hnZZC/view?usp=sharing>

Appendix 12: Poverty density per city block in Valparaíso, Chile.



Appendix 13: Interview with Chilean street artist Eddie Ramirez about poverty in Chile.

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1sJ->

[YAsfulcJB2j2AFllvQgRWH2RXHoMH/view?usp=sharing](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1sJ-YAsfulcJB2j2AFllvQgRWH2RXHoMH/view?usp=sharing)

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Appendix 14: Prevalence of Cocaine users among secondary school students in South America.

Country	Lifetime	Past Year	Past Month	Past Year Male	Past Year Female
Argentina	4.40	2.70	1.60	3.8	1.69
Bolivia	2.90	1.90	1.10	2.57	1.37
Chile	5.80	3.20	1.50	4.65	1.91
Ecuador	2.40	1.40	0.70	2.16	0.73
Peru	1.90	1.10	0.50	1.67	0.52
Uruguay	4.70	3.50	1.70	5.06	2.09

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